

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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O P 241947Z MAY 77

FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4475
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KHARTOUM 1764

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E.O/ 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR US ZAMBIA RH WA
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S MEETING WITH KAUNDA

1. SUMMARY: AFTER CRITICIZING THE WEST FOR WHAT HE CITED AS ITS PAST MISTAKES WITH REGARD TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, PRESIDENT KAUNDA, DURING MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR YOUNG, PRAISED PRESIDENT CARTER AND HIS ADMINISTRATION FOR ITS APPROACH TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES AND HUMAN RIGHTS. HE AND MARK CHONA WARNED THE U.S. NOT TO CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF THE BRITISH AND OTHER WEST EUROPEANS WHOSE ECONOMIC INTERESTS CAUSE THEM TO TAKE A CONSERVATIVE STANCE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. AMB. YOUNG TALKED ABOUT THE MEANING OF THE CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON, AND OUR NEED FOR THE TRUST AND COOPERATION OF THE FRONT LINE STATES AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. WITHOUT SPELLING OUT DETAILS, THE ZAMBIANS MADE IT CLEAR THEY WANT THE U.S. TO KEEP PRESSURE ON IAN SMITH AND JOHN
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VORSTER. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING BREAKFAST AND STATEMENTS TO REPORTERS, PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG, ALONG WITH MEMBERS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE STAFFS, MET FOR OVER AN HOUR MAY 23. ZAMBIAN OFFICIALS PRESENT INCLUDED FOREIGN MINISTER MWALE, UN AMBASSADOR AND PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA DUNSTAN

KAMANA AND MARK CHONA.

3. KAUNDA DWELT AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT THE MISTAKES HE SAID THE WEST HAS MADE OVER THE YEARS REGARDING THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. OUR FAILURE TO SUPPORT THEM PROVIDED A PERFECT OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SOVIETS, WHO "CAPITALIZED ON WESTERN BLUNDERS, ONE AFTER THE OTHER." HE WARNED THE U.S., AS WELL AS PORTUGAL, BUT WARNING WAS NOT HEHEDED. BY SUPPLYING OIL TO RHODESIA, HE MAINTAINED, THE WEST CONTINUES TO BLUNDER. INSTEAD WEST SHOULD USE OIL AS A WEAPON FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE AGAINST RHODESIA.

4. KAUNDA AND MWALE SPOKE OF THE RESIDUE OF MISTRUST FOR THE MOTIVES OF THE U.S. MWALE SAID THE REPUTATION OF THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION WOULD CAUSE THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM WE DEAL "TO TREAD VARILY." AN ADDED IMPEDIMENT TO OUR EFFORT TO HELP FIND NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS FOR NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN PROBLEMS IS THAT NEGOTIATIONS NO LONGER ARE A POPULAR IDEA WITH AFRICANS. THERE IS A STRONG FEELING IN FAVOR OF A "TOTAL VICTORY."

5. NEVERTHELESS, KAUNDA SAID, ZAMBIA VERY MUCH VALUES ITS TIES WITH THE U.S. AS A FRIEND, "NOT AS AN ALLY AGAINST COMMUNISM." HE WAS RELIEVED TO HEAR PRESIDENT SAY WHAT HE DID, IN HIS NOTRE DAME SPEECH, ABOUT COMMUNISM -- THAT THE U.S. IS NOT PREOCCUPIED WITH FIGHTING COMMUNISM. ZAMBIA TRUSTED PRESIDENT CARTER AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG (ALTHOUGH IT REMAINS SUSPICIOUS OF THE U.S. "ESTABLISHMENT", WHICH MAY TRY TO UNDO THEIR GOOD WORK). HE REGARDED PRESIDENT CARTER
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WITH "RESPECT AND LOVE" BECAUSE THE LATTER HAS SPOKEN OUT SO CLEARLY AND WITH SUCH PRINCIPLE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. MWALE SAID THE ADVENT OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION "WITH ITS POSITIVE APPROACHES BRINGS IN FRESH AIR.". KAUNDA FELT THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD RESPOND POSITIVELY TO OUR INITIATIVE ON RHODESIA WHEN THEY UNDERSTOOD THE MEANING OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

6. KAUNDA, AND LATER CHONA, CAUTIONED THE U.S. NOT TO FOLLOW THE BRITISH LEAD ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. CHONA MADE THE POINT THAT BECAUSE OF THEIR "ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE BRITISH IN PARTICULAR AND THE EUROPEANS IN GENERAL WILL BE MORE CONSERVATIVE AS YOU MOVE FOR GREATER INVOLVEMENT IN TRYING TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF SOUTHERN AFRICA."

NOTE BY OC/T: DISSEMINATION COORDINATED WITH S/S-O - MR. PERITO.

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7. KAUNDA CRITICIZED AMB YOUNG FOR REPORTEDLY SAYING IN MAPUTO THAT THE USE OF ARMS AGAINST RHODESIA SHOULD BE COMPLETELY REJECTED. AND HE TOOK ISSUE WITH THE AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT IN JOHANNESBURG THAT IN FIFTEEN YEARS SOUTH AFRICA COULD OVERTAKE BRITAIN IN RACE RELATIONS. WE DO NOT HAVE 15 YEARS, HE SAID.

8. IN HIS RESPONSE, AMB YOUNG SAID HE HAD MEANT TO CONVEY THAT WHILE THE U.S. UNDERSTOOD THAT AFRICANS WOULD CONTINUE THE ARMED STRUGGLE, THE NEGOTIATING EFFORT SHOULD GO FORWARD IN ORDER TO END THE VIOLENCE AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF INTENSIFIED WARFARE. AS FOR HIS STATEMENT IN JOHANNESBURG, HE SAID THAT, AS WAS THE CASE WITH PORTUGAL, REPRESSIVE REGIMES "HAVE A WAY OF COLLAPSING SUDDENLY." THE INTERNAL STRESSES WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE GROWING ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF BLACK AFRICA TO THE WEST ARE FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED IN THIS REGARD. IF SOUTH AFRICA STARTED NOW, IT COULD TRANS-
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FORM ITSELF IN 15 YEARS.

9. HE STRESSED THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE WAY THE NIXON/FORD ADMINISTRATION AND THE WAY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAVE REGARDED SOUTHERN AFRICA. THERE IS A NEW ATTITUDE IN WASHINGTON WHICH IS REFLECTED IN OUR CURRENT SOUTHERN AFRICAN POLICY. THE U.S. WANTS THE TRUST OF THE FRONT LINE STATES AND THE RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND THEIR COOPERATION IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

10. KAUNDA REPLIED, "WE WILL GO ALONG AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IF NEGOTIATIONS ARE SEEN TO BE MOVING TOWARD POSITIVE CHANGES." HOWEVER, THE SITUATION IS EXPLOSIVE AND NOT MUCH TIME REMAINS. HE BELIEVES IN THE NEED FOR CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS, BUT "NEGOTIATIONS MUST TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE WAR SITUATION.

11. COMMENT: IN SUBSEQUENT INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS, THE ZAMBIANS WERE UNWILLING TO DESCRIBE DETAILED ROLE THEY WOULD LIKE US TO ASSUME. KAUNDA AND HIS LIEUTENANTS, THOUGH, MADE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THE MAIN THRUST OF THEIR MESSAGE TO US: THEY WANT THE U.S. TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON SMITH AND VORSTER BY EVERY AVAILABLE MEANS. KAUNDA IS NOT CONCERNED ABOUT BEING CONSULTED; ANYTHING POSITIVE WE CAN DO WILL RECEIVE HIS APPROVAL -- SO LONG AS IT REALLY CONTRIBUTES TO THE END OF THE PRESENT SYSTEMS IN ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. ON THE OTHER HAND, EVIDENCE OF RELUCTANCE ON OUR PART TO MOVE AHEAD, OVER-WEENING CONCERN FOR BILATERAL TIES WITH THE BRITISH AS OPPOSED TO THE EVOLVING REALITIES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL BRING ABOUT KAUNDA'S OUTSPOKEN CRITICISM.
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